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The November Revolution and Its Betrayal

by Murray N. Rothbard

On the November election and its aftermath, there's wonderful news and there's terrible news. The wonderful news, of course, is that the great right-wing grass roots revolution against Big Government, a revolution we at *RRR* had been heralding since last summer, struck the Democrat Party in November everywhere it could, and swept it out of power. The terrible news is that it took less than 24 hours for that revolution to be grievously betrayed. From his own perspective, Ralph Nader put it very well: that most Congressional revolutions are betrayed no sooner than the following January, whereas this one was sold down the river in December. Nader was speaking, of course, about the most glaring example of that betrayal: Dole, Gingrich, Armey and the rest of the new Republican leadership leaping to collaborate with the hated and repudiated Clinton to bring back the discredited lame-duck, Democrat Congress to ram GATT down the throats of the American people.

Bringing back the defeated Foley, Sasser, and the rest of the gang was a direct slap in the face by the Republican elites of the very voters who had just put them into power. In England, there is a custom at meetings for the rank-and-file of organizations to shout "Shame!" and "Resign!" when their leaders do something particularly odious. There should have been such an outcry from every rooftop in America at this act of treachery by the quisling Gingriches and Doles.

Why couldn't the Republicans wait a few weeks for their own Congress? The argument that the new GATT/WTO was supposed to begin this January is absurd; most countries haven't even ratified GATT yet. The real reason is that the unconstitutional "fast track" provision expired at the end of 1994; in that rule, which applied only to trade agreements like NAFTA and GATT, Congress agreed to tie its own hands, and eliminate all possible voting on amendments, so that Congress could only vote "yes" or "no" on an agree-

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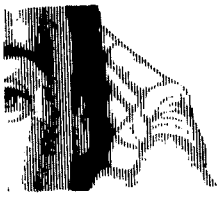

THE EAR

by Sarah Barton

Rush Limbaugh's great value has always been his joyous, mocking, blistering attacks on Clinton and his gang; he sustained all of us and aided the movement greatly during the horrible two years of Willie's solo reign.

But now things are going to be different; Rush's thralldom to the Republican Establishment lessens his value, to say the least, over the next two years. In fact, the problem has already started. For Rush's radio and TV shows have refused to air anti-GATT ads by Phyllis Schlafly and by Pat Buchanan. The excuse about Pat is that he is a radio rival of Rush's. And Phyllis? Her TV ad against GATT was first ac-

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cepted, and then refused at the last minute, the show returning the money.

So what happened to Rush's championing of free exchange of ideas? Apparently the Iron Curtain suddenly shuts when GATT, a pet of the Republicrat Establishment, is threatened.

Rush, Rush, we hardly knew ya.

*****

Neocon Newt Gingrich is publishing a dirty novel. "I'm in fact a much broader and more complex person than the stereotypes suggest," he told *New York Times* reporter Maureen Dowd.

The book involves Hitler and science fiction, but is also full of explicit sex scenes between a high government official and what Newt calls his "pouting sex kitten." The official seeks to replace his "Mrs. Little Goody Two Shoes" wife with his mistress, amidst a Nazi raid on Oak Ridge, Tennessee, stopped by Alvin York!

Gingrich is active in the sci-fi movement, and when asked if he was a faithful fan of *Star Trek*, said, "Of course, how can one not be a Trekkie?" Let me count the ways, Mr. Spock.

*****

On the Helms flap: I don't know about you, but I know that the President is not *my* "Commander-in Chief." And he's not my liege lord, my sovereign, or my king either. ■

(NOVEMBER...cont. from pg. 1)
ment handed to it by the President. But couldn't GATT then have been "amended to death"? Yes, and that's the whole point. Just like any other important measure, including the annual budget. That's what representative republican government, in contrast to dictatorship and its stooge parliaments, is supposed to be all about.

The news of the betrayal of the revolution is appalling but unfortunately not surprising. And GATT is only the most immediate and evident example of the looming across-the-board treachery. Both parties, the Republican as well as the Democrat, have long been run by an effectively bipartisan Big Government elite that is strongly opposed to the interests and the values, economic, moral, cultural, and religious, of the vast majority of the American people. This bipartisan elite is in the minority, but it has managed to control public policy for a half-century because it is strong in wealth (important sectors of Big Business and high-finance—summed up in the old phrases "Rockefeller Republican" and "Eastern Establishment") and in the opinion-moulding classes and institutions: e.g. among intellectuals, academics, writers, technocrats, policy wonks, planners, and bureaucrats. A combination of vast wealth and numbers of writer-intellectuals means that the respectable and influential big media—the press and television—endorse and push for the statist, Big Government cause.

A quick rundown of the crucial issues that helped ignite and propel the November revolution, and where all elites, including the new Republican Party leaders, strongly oppose the public will:

Open Borders: everyone agrees that the public wants to crack down on illegal immigrants and restrict immigration *per se*; the elites say no.

Foreign Aid: everyone also agrees that the American people are against foreign aid, especially now that the Cold War is dead and gone. But all the Republicrat elite are hysterically opposed to any whittling down of foreign aid.

Foreign intervention: Now that the Cold War is over, why does the United States have to intervene everywhere; why we do have to push every other country around for their own alleged good, and at vast expense to the American taxpayer? Everyone agrees that the American public couldn't care less about the fate of Bosnia, or Rwanda, or Somalia, or Haiti. And yet the only criticism the Doles and Gingriches are leveling at Clinton's foreign policy is that he is not slaughtering *enough* Serbs.

Welfare: The American people want to abolish welfare altogether. The Gingrich-Armey "reform" only wants to add expensive government-financed orphanages to Clinton's own phony welfare reform. The key point to look at is that all of these so-called

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reforms would *add* to the taxpayer financing of welfare, not sharply reduce or abolish it.

Victimological regulations: The American people want to get rid of affirmative action, all sorts of "civil rights," and other victimological special privileges that oppress the majority of Americans, injure the consumers and cripple businesses. The Gingrichian response? Zero. The elites want to keep the current system, and at most only tinker with it around the edges.

Gun Control: A crucial spark for the November Revolution was the intensifying tyranny of gun control. The current Republican response? Virtually zero. The bipartisan ruling elite loves gun control, and the Gingrichians only oppose it in rhetoric, not in deeds. Has any Republican leader called for repeal of the Brady bill?

Deficits and Government Spending: The liberal Democrats may be hypocritical about deficits, but they have a point. The supply-side alibi, except for such comparatively minor areas as capital-gains taxes, is clearly wrong. Deficits *are* bad, as the public realizes, and to cut them requires extensive, far-reaching slashes in government spending. And that means *real* cuts, *not* phony "cuts" in rates of government growth, cuts in projected future government expenses, or "caps." And it also means big cuts in federal government functions, as well as abolition of entire departments and agencies. The public demands such action. But there have been no budget *cuts* proposed in any Gingrichian program, and no mention of abolishing the Departments of Education and Energy, let alone other agencies.

Instead, all we are offered is the Gingrichian balanced-budget amendment which not only slows the reform process to a crawl of many years through the amendment procedure, but is also an unenforceable hoax and a sham. Why can't Gingrich and Dole avoid this posturing and simply present their own *balanced budget* this winter as an alternative to Clinton's? Because they too favor Big Government and centralized power in Washington, D.C., that's why.

Money: Any serious people's revolution would do something to curb or abolish the inflationary government-banker cartel, the Federal Reserve. The American people are far more opposed to the Fed than are the Republicrat elites, who virtually worship the Fed and whoever its chairman happens to be. The people not only distrust and dislike the Fed, they also believe correctly that the only genuine money is gold. Why does no Republican leader call for return to the gold standard, a truly free market money?

Any serious people's revolution would do something to curb or abolish the inflationary government-banker cartel.

There is an acid test that every reader can apply for himself for the next two years, about the Republicans in Congress, be they the Doles or the Gingriches. At each stage forget the rhetoric and ask yourself: what did they *do?* Did the Republicans, did the conservative Republicans, singly or together actually *reduce*, substantially and sharply, the scope and impact of Big Government? Did they roll back—*really* roll back—the power of Washington, D.C., over your lives and your property?

I should emphasize that I don't believe that all is hopeless, or that we might as well retire to some island. On the contrary, the good news is not only that the mass of the public have become fierce opponents of government intrusion and enemies of Leviathan; the good news is also that some of the freshmen Congressman and Senators, especially in the House, are dedicated, fiery right-wing populist conservatives and libertarians, who are true embodiments of the November Revolution. They

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are beholden to their principles and to their constituents, not to the perks and power that might be handed out by Newt Gingrich and his cohorts. Many of them only became Republican candidates because the party elite had no idea that they would win. There are many hard-core paleos in Congress, and other sympathizers who are open to persuasion, either by conviction or because they realize that this is what their constituents demand. One of the leading Republicans in the Senate, for example, was converted against GATT by reading the Mises Institute's sparkling booklet, *The WTO Reader*. Such impact can be multiplied many-fold.

If the Republicans don't get with the Revolution, they will follow Slick Willie into the ashcan of history.

Of the many worthy freshman in the House, two can be singled out. One is Jack Metcalf, a new Representative from Washington State. I have met Jack several times. A former State Senator, Metcalf is a veteran paleo-libertarian activist, an Old Rightist champion of the Tenth Amendment and strict constitutional government, a knowledgeable advocate of the free-market gold standard, and an implacable foe of the income tax and of the Federal Reserve. A promising young newcomer to the House is the Texan Steve Stockman, who, with very little money, toppled the powerful liberal Judiciary Committee Chairman Jack Brooks. Stockman, who featured a poster "FIGHT CRIME, SHOOT BACK," stressed three magnificent themes in his campaign: (1) an accountant, he has dedicated himself to the abolition of the dread Internal Revenue Service; (2) he hammered away at Brooks's sellout to the gun-control forces in voting for the ban on "assault" weapons; and (3) he played on TV, over and over again, spots of the Janet Reno-BATF holocaust of the Branch Davidians at Waco, interspersed with Rep. Brooks's cruel pronouncement: "those people got what they deserved." No Jack, *you* got what you deserved on November 8.

The important thing now is for the mass of the public *not* to be lulled, *not* to think that the war is over, now that Gingrich has been elected, and that we all might as well go home. On the contrary, the first battle has been won, but many others remain in this glorious but protracted struggle. The next vital step is to keep alert, study the continuing record of this Congress, and to keep putting the pressure on the Republican party and its elites. In short, to help the paleo-type populists in the House and Senate, the militant backbenchers and their sympathizers, to assist them in putting pressure on the reluctant elites of their own party. Keep their feet to the fire; never let up. And let us all remind the new Masters of the Universe, in their arrogance, that what the people have given them, the people can and will take away. They have two years to put up, to shape up or be shipped out. And if a threat of a viable third party, whether Perotvian or some other, begins to loom large for '96, so much the better. If Slick Willie and his rotten collectivists gang are doomed, as it certainly appears, great. It couldn't have happened to a more deserving crew. But the Republicans should be constantly put on notice that, if they don't get with the Revolution, they will soon follow Slick Willie into the ashcan of history. ■

King Kristol

by M.N.R.

On November 8, the American people carried through a mighty and glorious revolution against Big Government and its embodiment in King Wil-

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liam (Jefferson Blyth IV "Clinton"). But what we got for our pains is Big Government headed by yet another King William (Kristol). A Left-liberal (Socialist) in the guise of a New Democrat (Social Democrat) was replaced by a neoconservative (Social Democrat) in the guise of a conservative.

Officially, of course, our new Maximum Leader is Newt Gingrich, whose seat on the throne was hardly warm before he had maneuvered to grab more House power than any Speaker since the notorious Joe Cannon. Newt is a neoconservative (Social Democrat, wacko techno-futurist division), in the guise of a fiery revolutionary quasi-libertarian. In actuality, however, we are now being ruled by a duumvirate, by two kings, a two-headed monster: King Newt and King Kristol. Newt is the nominal chief, the outside front man who deals with the media and the public; William is the shadowy inside man, the "theoretician" who sets the public policy agenda and cracks the whip over the "intellectuals," policy wonks, and strategists of the Republican Party.

There are advantages and disadvantages to each role, and who plays what is a function of many factors, including personal temperament. Gingrich, as the politician who gets elected, clearly loves the open exercise of power. Kristol, as the "intellectual" in this division of labor, is better suited for the inside handing down of the policy line to pundits, think-tankers, and the battery of neocon syndicated columnists.

One advantage to the intellectual slot is that the front man-politician gets the glory but also takes all the heat. Gingrich has already been subject to a lot of media "scrutiny" (the current euphemism for hostile profiles and articles) mainly by hard Leftists outside the "mainstream" left center-right center neocon/Social Democrat spectrum. But Bill Kristol has gotten no scrutiny whatsoever, and to my knowledge has never been subjected to this process. King William has become a king beyond criticism for one reason: because the general public has no idea of Kristol's enormous new power in tandem with Gingrich.

The neo-conservatives, after having been dominant under Reagan, grew to detest George Bush toward the end of the Bush Administration. And so the tightly organized neocon ranks, extraordinarily well-funded and represented way out of proportion to their numbers in the ranks of journalists and syndicated columnists (a common quip is the there are 33 neocons in that country of whom 32 are syndicated columnists), openly or quietly threw their weight behind Bill Clinton, leading the Backstabbing Faction of the Republican Party. In fact, it was mainly the neocons, headed by their "left" faction who are nominal Democrats, such as columnist Ben Wattenberg and the media-hyped Democratic Leadership Council, who persuaded the American public that Bill Clinton was really not a bad Old Liberal but a centrist New Democrat.

After he assumed power, however, King Willie, the Slick One, betrayed his neocon supporters. In two ways: first, his policies, driven by his Gorgon spouse, were much Harder Left than the neocons had been led to believe. (Yes, everyone, even neocons, makes mistakes.) But secondly, and more important, Clinton appointed almost none of the neocons to high office. Instead, the multicultural, multi-gendered Hard Left got the appointments. And patronage, of course, is the key to politics and to power.

Nothing is more dangerous than a neocon scorned. And so, the neocons joined the rest of the American public in revolt against the hated Clintons. While the lower ranks of the neocons had to make do with menial jobs waiting for Their Turn, the neocon rulers of course did not exactly suffer economic deprivation during the dry two years of the reign of King Willie. While Bill Bennett made a small fortune in no-show jobs at a number of heavily neo-con funded institutions, Bill Kristol segued neatly from his Bush-era job as chief of staff ("control") of Vice-President Quayle, to head of the new, munificently-funded "Project for the Republican Future." Kristol is chairman of the tiny board of

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directors of the Project, which also includes *National Review* publisher Thomas Rhodes, and, most significantly, Michael S. Joyce, head of the extremely wealthy Bradley Foundation of Milwaukee. Joyce is a long-time protege of Kristol's father, Irving, the "Godfather" of the neoconservative movement. Irving had led the long march of the neoconservatives from Trotskyite to Democratic liberal to Reaganite, and is still the chief theoretician of the editorial page of the *Wall St. Journal*.

In recent years, however, the aging Irving has passed the mantle of power to his apostolic and dynastic successor, William. No sooner had William set up shop at the Project in Washington, than he began to issue ukases and edicts to his mailing list of God knows how many tens (hundreds?) of thousands, which includes every Republican, conservative, or libertarian leader or institution of any prominence. Strange to relate, his orders to the Republican/Official Con/Official Libertarian troops always seem to be obeyed. When the Clinton health plan took shape, King William issued a decree to the Republicans to close ranks and—sorta—oppose it. Sure enough, they did. Fortunately, the Clintonians stuck stubbornly to their Hillary-Ira Magaziner Hard Left health plan, so that Congress wound up passing nothing, nothing being a whale of a lot better than Kristol's soft-core alternative. Before the election, moreover, William Kristol managed to "persuade" Jack Kemp and Bill Bennett to cut their own potential presidential throats by coming out strongly against Proposition 187, thereby going against, not only the overwhelming mass of the public, but also against Governor Pete Wilson and the bulk of the California Republican Party.

The groveling adulation of Bill Kristol by virtually every conservative leader in the country has to be seen or read to be believed. Conservative bigshots vie with each other in heaping the kind of extravagant praise upon William that Ayn Rand devotees used to heap upon their Leader. Thus, Bill Kristol is routinely referred to by virtually everyone as "the most brilliant conservative intellectual in the country," the only permissible range of dispute being those who gently demure and claim that Bill is merely second in brilliance to his beloved poppa. Liberal pundits go along with this assessment, in their case with grudging but not worshipful admiration. To paraphrase Tom Fleming's pungent comment on the allegedly increasing brilliance of *The Bell Curve*'s heralded "Cognitive Elite": If the Kristols, William & Irving, are the "most brilliant intellectuals" in the conservative movement, that movement is in deep doo-doo indeed.

When the American people voted on November 8, they were not consciously voting to elevate William Kristol to Supreme Power. Indeed, the vast majority of the American public, fortunately for their peace of mind, have never heard of William Kristol. But such are the wonders of the Guided Democracy that the neocons have arranged for us, that that is what has happened.

No sooner had the election been won, than Bill Kristol leaped to assume the reins of command. The first order of business of the Betrayers of the Revolution was to rush GATT/WTO through the lame-duck Democrat Congress. It should occasion no surprise that one of Kristol's first decrees after the election was to order the Republicans to "Pass GATT-Quickly!" Of course the Republicans, including the "libertarian revolutionary" Gingrich, hastened to obey.

Of some interest is the quality of the intellectual reasoning that Kristol used in his "Memorandum to Republican Leaders" of November 21 to persuade them to obey. The Republicans, said Kristol, have won, they should be strong and confident, they should stick to principle and not compromise or dicker with Clinton—and *therefore* they should hasten to pass Clinton's GATT proposal right away, without delay or qualifications! If you can make sense out of *that* line of reasoning, you're a better man (or woman) than I. But sense, intellectuality, persuasive reasoning, have nothing to do with the case. Argumentation

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is here only a figleaf for the naked exercise of power, in this case the power of King William K. and the neocon movement which he heads and controls.

After succeeding in suppressing Bob Dole's abortive attempt to delay GATT in order to gain more concessions from Clinton, King K. turned his attention to shaping up the conservative intellectual front. On December 16, he headed a panel of Official Con/Left Libertarian thinktankers on "What to Kill First: Agencies to Dismantle, Programs to Eliminate, and Regulations to Stop." Despite previous bold talk by Kristol and the others about "principle" and rolling back the welfare state, Left Libertarian thinktankers, under King William's watchful guidance, decided to suddenly "mature," to "grow in stature," to "accept the responsibilities of power," as the liberal media always like to dub sellouts to statism. Except for Wall Street's favorite, capital gains tax cut, no calls came for cuts in taxes, only their "limitation," in effect, the stopping or slowing down of tax *increases*. No appeals rose up for *abolishing* any agency or program. The merger of neoconservatism and Left-libertarianism, of Official Conservatives and Libertarians, is now virtually complete.

King K. followed up this panel with a foreign policy panel a few days later. The "spectrum" on foreign policy was narrowed to one tiny band of "bipartisan" neocon interventionists and warmongers, including former Defense Department biggie Paul Wolfowitz, and former State Department heavies Robert Kagan and Robert Zoellick, topped off by the sinister syndicated columnist Charles Krauthammer. How's *that* for a broad range of "Republican" opinion?

Our task is to expose, expose, and attack, attack the Gingriches and the Kristols.

And yet, in all of the commentary on the election by conservatives and libertarians, only one person has broken into print with sharp criticisms of King Kristol. As might be expected, that person is our very own paleo point man, my colleague Lew Rockwell. Writing in the *Washington Times* ("Striking the Pose on Welfare Reform," Dec.4) Lew revealed William Kristol's repeated post-election denunciations of any attempt to carry out a revolution or genuine rollback of the Welfare State. Lew points to Kristol's execrable advice to the neocon-controlled (Kemp-Bennett) "Empower America" conference: "Don't take a kamikaze approach," ordered King K. For that would "wipe out everything at once that took 60 years to build up." Awww! Perish the thought! Would K.K. take the same view toward the painstaking 72-year "buildup" of the Soviet Union? Bill Kristol elaborated by telling the *New York Times* that Republicans "should shed the minority mindset" of "let's do everything we can all at once." Instead, he explained, the important thing is not to worry about principle or rollback but to elect a Republican President in '96 (i.e., do *nothing*). In short, don't do what we told the American people we were going to do. Instead, wait comrades! Wait for a Republican President! And then it will be wait for his reelection! Wait for the Second Millennium! Wait for the light at the end of the tunnel! Pie in the sky bye and bye!

During the first two years of the Clinton Administration, our prime political task was to expose, expose, and attack, attack the collectivist schemes of the Clintonian Democracy, and to help build a right-wing populist revolution against Clintonian rule. Now that the people have made that revolution and it has already been betrayed, our task is to expose, expose, and attack, attack the leading betrayers, the Gingriches and the Kristols as

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well as their support system of the neocon/Official Con/Official libertarian punditocracy. The grass-roots right-wing have marvelous libertarian and anti-statist instincts, but they are unsophisticated about people and political leaders, especially those who clothe their treason in the fair garb of rightist and libertarian-sounding rhetoric. Our task is to strip the glowing rhetoric from our misleaders, and reveal the ugly reality underneath. Our task, in short, is to show, once again, that despite the systemic deceit practiced by our Official movement apologists and word-spinners, our Emperors, be they Willie or William or Newt, are wearing no clothes. ■

Our task is to strip the glowing rhetoric from our misleaders, and reveal the ugly reality underneath.

A Rivederci, Mario

by M.N.R.

In one sense, of course, the toppling of Mario Cuomo from his New York throne was part and parcel of the nationwide people's revolution against the Democrat Party. But the shock was a lot greater in New York than in most of the country. In the first place, Mario had for years been the Great Shining Prince of Democrat left-liberalism: witty, brainy, eloquent, left-Catholic theologian (an *acceptable* Catholic, for Heaven's sake, now that Teddy was old, fat, and discredited), a man who had taken the nation's liberals by storm at his speech at the Democrat convention of 1984. Ever since, he had been the Numero Uno *presidentabile*, if we may coin a term.

But secondly, and more strikingly, Mario was *supposed* to win; until Election Day, the polls had Mario comfortably in the lead. In contrast, for example, everyone knew that Speaker Tom Foley was doomed many weeks before the election. And the Cuomo lead was not part of what looked like a massive media disinformation campaign from mid-October on. Nationally, the Democrats were first supposed to lose badly, and then came the Gingrich contract, and then Clinton looked Presidential while out of the country, and the media began to hype the Comeback Kid and the Comeback Party. The polls claimed that the Republican surge had stopped; they peaked too early; Clinton is up in the polls; the Democrats are now surging ahead; the public has had a chance to look at the "contract" and blah blah. The Democrats are up again! I had been optimistic about a Democratic collapse before that, but by the final weekend before Election Day I was getting worried, snowed by the "scientific" media onslaught. But then, magically, the day before Election Day, whoops! the polls showed that the Democrat surge had magically stopped; the Republicans are up again, and by Election morning the polls were at least in the ballpark (although plaudits to political analysts Robert Novak, Michael Barone, and Stuart Rothenberg for getting the Senate shift right on the button, and they called the House pretty closely as well.)

What was with the media? My astute colleague Lew Rockwell plausibly speculated that the media, after trying to hype their wish-fulfillment as long as they dared, *had* to preserve their credibility and start telling the truth by the Monday before Election Day.

But in any case, New York was different. *Everyone* in the media expected Cuomo to win handily down to the wire by several percentage points. Instead, Pataki won by 4 percent. What in the world happened? One straw

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in the wind; in its pre-election issue, the politically savvy weekly *New York Observer* had two interviews with the supposedly winning Cuomo camp. To the reporter's stunned surprise, David Garth, the legendary campaign head for Cuomo, instead of being euphoric or cocky, was elegiac, mournful, apologetic about his mistakes. And another *Observer* journalist reported that the pre-election mood in the Cuomo camp was one of "quiet desperation," trying mightily to bring out the black vote in New York City. As Rockwell explains, if political candidates have a lot of money, *they* can see what's happening far better than the media, because they take daily "tracking polls" that can pinpoint the coming election results. The media were off base, but *Garth knew.*

The Super Bowl of Campaign Consultants

At the heart of the Cuomo-Pataki struggle was a war between the rival political consultants/campaign managers, arguably the two best in the business. Both men are tough, smart, abrasive, New York ethnics. Heading the Cuomo camp was Dave Garth, the Founding Father of modern political consulting, who cut his eye teeth in the Adlai Stevenson campaign of 1952. Garth began as a liberal Democrat, but has moved rightward over the years to become a centrist Democrat. In recent years, Garth has been most comfortable conducting campaigns *from the right*: his last great triumph was the centrist "fusion" Republican-Liberal campaign of Rudolph Giuliani for Mayor of New York, ousting the black leftist incumbent David Dinkins.

In the opposite corner handling George Pataki: the conservative-libertarian Republican, the shadowy, reclusive Art Finkelstein. Finkelstein's most recent *coup* was the brilliantly-run campaign of 1992, electing Al D'Amato for U.S. Senate against the anointed liberal Democrat klutz Bob Abrams. D'Amato managed to overcome "ethics" charges to defeat the colorless, over-confident Abrams. Particularly notable was Finkelstein's slogan for Al D'Amato, intoned repeatedly on TV: "Bob Abrams, hopelessly liberal."

Dave Garth had a big problem on his hands. Not only was 1994 looming as a Republican year, but New York was sick, sick, sick of their former darling, Mario. Mario had begun as witty and eloquent; he originally won the governorship in 1982 in a tight race against the bright but humorless conservative Republican Lew Lehrman. Cuomo won it in debates with Lehrman, his quick wit effective on radio and TV. A highlight was the time that Lehrman tried to explain to fiercely pro-gun control New Yorkers why he was opposed. Lehrman drifted off into an elaborate and rambling explanation how he had grown up in rural Pennsylvania, and how it was important to know how to shoot gophers because horses would stumble into gopher holes and break their legs. Mario's riposte was in the best tradition of devastating New York wit: "Lew," he said, "in all the fifty years I have lived in the borough of Queens I have never once seen a horse fall into a gopher hole." End of Lehrman.

The wit has long gone, however. Mario had also charmed New Yorkers by his nagging, hectoring, intrusive style. Let any radio or TV talk show host criticize Mario, and the governor was immediately on the phone, rebutting, attacking, griping. Any journalist who criticized him got an angry or a needling phone call. At first, this seemed great: Mario was alive, aware, in-your-face, a true New Yorker. But after years of this, New Yorkers grew weary, especially since Mario didn't *do* anything. As term after term dragged on, and after twelve years in office, Mario's accomplishments were nil: the only results he brought in his wake were higher taxes, more crime, more welfare. During the summer, one of those incidents occurred that stuck in New Yorkers' minds as summing up the bog of decay that had slowly but surely settled in New York. The state maintains a recorded I-Love-New York phone line, that anyone could call to get information on what's going on in the city. But during the campaign it

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was revealed that because of high costs and high taxes in New York, the actual phone operation had to be moved to rural Pennsylvania! Oh, Mario, Mario!

How would Garth play the Cuomo campaign? For the first several months, Garth went positive, showing commercials stressing Mario's nobility, his stature, his accomplishments, etc. But *what* accomplishments, exactly? Here we have to realize that while most politically aware Americans have long regarded Cuomo as the leader of the liberal-Left, New York's strident and voluble Hard Left has long felt very differently. It is precisely because of Cuomo's great gifts that the Hard Left has felt bitterly betrayed. Apart from speeches, a thirst for power, higher taxes and a stubborn insistence on vetoing the death penalty, Mario hadn't really done a darn thing to bring socialism to New York State.

For the Left and for the blacks, Mario's biggest betrayal was his implicit collaboration with Giuliani in 1993 to dump the disastrous David Dinkins. The Left and the blacks couldn't forgive or forget the fact that the decisive element in swinging that tight race to Giuliani was Cuomo's investigator's strategically-timed report on the famed August 1991 black riot in Crown Heights, Brooklyn. The Australian Hasidic scholar Yankel Rosenbaum had there been killed by a black mob. The Cuomo appointee's report laid conspicuous blame for total incompetence on Dinkins and on his inept black Police Commissioner Benjamin Ward. The Cuomo Crown Heights report was the decisive factor in beating Dinkins and electing Giuliani.

So when Garth went positive for Cuomo, there wasn't really much positive to say. As a matter of fact, the copious TV spots showing Mario saying "elect me for another four years, so I can finish the job," struck most New Yorkers as a grotesque joke. Finish *what* job, Mario?

The Left in New York, usually loud to proclaim the importance of "issues" versus personalities, implored Mario to go negative against the virtually unknown Pataki, a farmer and then State Senator from Peekskill, up the Hudson Valley from New York City. Apparently, leftist reporters uncovered some shady "ethics" dealings by the bland, handsome, slightly goofy-looking Pataki.

Garth, however, was no longer comfortable going negative against conservatives. He launched another tack: he went negative against Al D'Amato, continually blasting D'Amato and deriding Pataki as a mere puppet of the Republican Senator. There were D'Amato's ethical problems, for which he had been cleared, and particularly the rather confusing, highly technical but still serious indictment of Al's beloved brother Armand, for lobbying on behalf of a corporation from the Senator's office. (That, however, was not illegal though it looked bad; the actual criminal charge was a bizarre accusation that Armand had committed some sort of fraud by *pretending* to lobby for the company, but not really doing so.)

As a short-run tactic, the demonizing by Garth of D'Amato was highly effective, and Al got rattled, committing a series of gaffes in mid-October. The most damaging error, in this P.C. age, was a quip D'Amato was overheard making to Pataki's glamorous lieutenant-governor running mate, Betsy McCaughey. D'Amato was anxious to line up the coyly neutral Rudolph Giuliani for an October endorsement of Pataki for governor; after all, they were both in the same party. D'Amato laughingly suggested to Betsy: "Why don't you make Rudy an offer he can't refuse?" Immediately, the assembled harridans of Left feminism rose up in their righteous wrath and denounced poor Al from one end of the state to the other. It got to the point, where, at a crucial late October stage of the race, Al D'Amato had to skip town on "vacation" and leave for California.

Shortly afterward, on October 24, Garth pulled his seemingly decisive coup: inducing his old client Rudy to cross parties and endorse Cuomo for governor. Everyone was all smiles at the photo-op: Rudy yammering about how

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good this would be for the city of New York (i.e. New York State funds and goodies galore), and Cuomo and his stooges blathering about how Giuliani showed high "courage," devotion to "principle," etc. *What* "principle," pray tell? Picking the highest bidder? The Giuliani October betrayal was one of many cases where liberal Republicans made their late, cheap hit against the candidates of their own party, participating in what Sam Francis aptly calls the "Backstabbing Faction" of the Republican Party. It shouldn't be forgotten, however, that Rudy was taking a neatly calculated risk; not only did his action seem decisive, but Rudy's other power base in New York politics, the Liberal Party, should not be overlooked. They, as Cuomo backers, were pleased. Giuliani had been the "Republican-Liberal" candidate for Mayor in 1993.

There was another reason why Mario seemed to have it wrapped up by late October. During the summer, a third-party candidate suddenly popped up, a man who had far greater potential for damaging Pataki than the floperoo ex-Libertarian candidate, radio shock jock Howard Stern.

The centerpiece issue of Pataki's campaign was the promise of a large 25 percent income tax cut, basing himself on the successful Christine Whitman race for governor of New Jersey in 1992. But all of a sudden there popped up an unknown mini-Perot, a centi-millionaire computer payroll magnate from Rochester, B. Thomas Golisano. Running on the small but permanent ballot line, the Independence Fusion Party, Golisano poured millions of his own money into the campaign, attacking Pataki *from the right*, and promising much deeper tax cuts than Pataki was supporting. By the end of October, Golisano was getting 14 percent in the statewide polls, and over 30 percent, in his home area of Rochester. Since almost all of these votes would be drawn from Pataki, the Golisano race seemed to insure a Cuomo reelection.

And Cuomo had accomplished this feat without going negative against his opponent, thereby maintaining his high-minded, quasi-theological image as some sort of secular saint. His campaign did orchestrate a press conference at City Hall in New York four days before the election, where Giuliani and his No. 2, nasty leftist New York Public Advocate Mark Green, denounced federal HUD grants that had found their way to a Pataki legal client in Peekskill. But the media, themselves lazy, adopted a strategy of not airing any negative reports, in other words, not giving free publicity to any material that the campaign itself wasn't willing to push on television. In other words, no free media rides, unless the Cuomo campaign was willing to pay for TV spots. But neither Garth nor Cuomo were willing to lower Mario's dignity by going public with such material. Besides, why do so when the triumphal reelection of Cuomo was wrapped up?

Cuomo maintained his high-minded, quasi-theological image as some sort of secular saint.

The Comeback Kid

In the meantime, Art Finkelstein had not been idle. Before things seemed to fall apart in the fall, Pataki had been doing very well. Pataki went negative very early, keeping the emphasis on everyone's weariness with Mario. For positives, Pataki stayed pleasant and vague, concentrating on the tax cut issue that had elected Christine Whitman in New Jersey, supplemented of course by attacking the high crime rate. For the negative, Finkelstein drew on the highly effective slogan that had elected Al D'Amato in

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his very tight race for U.S. Senate against Bob Abrams. In the new Pataki slogan repeated again and again: "Mario Cuomo, too liberal, for too long," Finkelstein brilliantly encapsulated in the last five words both the liberalism and the long twelve years that people had had to put up with Cuomo.

By the time of Giuliani's endorsement, two weeks and one day before the election, Pataki had held a substantial 7 to 8 point lead in Pataki's internal tracking polls. Giuliani's late hit endorsement of Cuomo reversed the standing radically; by October 28, eleven days before Election Day, Cuomo had vaulted into an enormous 13-point lead. Panic understandably set in in the Pataki camp. What to do?

Art Finkelstein's response was the brilliant masterstroke of the campaign. While the Cuomo camp understandably crowed about the endorsement, the Pataki campaign hammered away constantly at what Finkelstein astutely labeled "the deal"—what John Randolph of Roanoke once famously called "the corrupt bargain." It was "a deal," the Pataki people charged, for New York City to get still more taxpayer funding to leach off upstaters in the rest of the state. After all, why else would Giuliani stab Pataki in the back at the last minute? The Cuomo-Garth emphasis on Rudy's "courage" and "integrity" didn't cut much ice with an electorate already sick of politicians. Moreover, Giuliani administration officials, hailing the endorsement of Cuomo, incautiously told newsmen that they were counting on $150 million in increased state aid to New York City once Mario was re-elected.

That admission was all that Finkelstein needed. Keeping Pataki himself above the fray, Finkelstein ran a TV commercial using surrogates charging Cuomo with "buying votes" by cementing the deal with the Mayor. On October 29, Pataki was sent on a whirlwind trip to several upstate cities, hammering on the corrupt bargain theme and raising the red flag of still more taxes going to the City: "Mr. Cuomo is sending your hard-earned tax dollars to New York City." The hated City: a city that had already been draining upstaters of vast sums of taxes, and for what? The City: heartland of crime, and of welfare, where fully one-third of the population is on the dole. In the meanwhile, in a two-pronged strategy, the Pataki camp implored the upstate votes not to "waste their vote" against Cuomo and high taxes by pulling the lever for Tom Golisano.

On the same day that Pataki began his whirlwind tour upstate, Dave Garth made his big tactical error of the campaign. He sent Rudy Giuliani on an upstate tour of his own to counter Pataki. But why in the world would Garth think that Giuliani, the symbol of the hated City, would be popular upstate? All it did was underline the Pataki attack strategy. Immediately, Finkelstein purchased additional anti-Giuliani TV ads on upstate stations, and also mobilized visible protests outside all of Giuliani's upstate news conferences. After the election, Kieran Mahoney, another top Pataki strategist, gloated: "I thank the Mayor for making that upstate swing. It was sporting. It was timely. It was needed. And he energized our base by doing it." Another Democrat miscalculation was on how many votes the Giuliani endorsement would actually draw for Cuomo. It is true that the mayor's regime has been popular in New York, for getting the cops to crack down on street bums and making some visible budget cuts. But who not already voting for Cuomo in New York would be swayed by a Giuliani endorsement? Precious few. Liberals were already pro-Cuomo, and those too fed up with Mario to vote at all were not about to be persuaded by the endorsement of a Republican—a tiny breed in the city as it is. More important, the blacks in the City could not forgive Giuliani for overthrowing their beloved Mayor Dinkins, and his endorsement of Cuomo only underscored the substantial Cuomo role in defeating Dinkins. Generally, blacks and Hispanics need a strong motivation to go to the polls *at all*. The blacks now had no

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such motivation, despite the best efforts of Dinkins's former deputy mayor, the advertised black "political genius," Bill Lynch, to get out the vote in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant.

In the wake held at Cuomo headquarters on Election Night, Mario's top two political strategists—Garth and head boss of the Liberal party, Raymond Harding—admitted that the much-sought Giuliani endorsement had proved counterproductive. Too late now!

Moreover, in retrospect, it is clear that the basic Garth strategy of demonizing Al D'Amato didn't really work either. After all, Al D'Amato may be rude, crude, and in-your-face, but in this and in the way he looks and talks, Al is a true New Yorker. He may be an abrasive ethnic to heartland Americans, he might not play in Peoria, but he is quintessentially New York. Why should a demonizing strategy work? After all, it was only two years ago that Al swept in, defeating Bob Abrams by over a million votes. Hard as it may be for non-New Yorkers to realize, they love D'Amato in New York. He became know years ago as "Senator Pothole," for his assiduous attention to the humdrum, day-to-day needs of his constituents. And shortly before Election Day, Al was gloriously vindicated, for his beloved brother Armand was not only freed by the appeals court, but the judges threw out Armand's indictment and conviction as outrageous; why was this man being prosecuted at all? Go get 'em on Whitewater, Al!

Herb London blew the race, committing a series of wrong-headed and almost ludicrous miscalculations.

How Pataki Did It

Politically and geographically, New York State may be divided into three sections: heavily liberal and Democratic New York City, the moderately Republican suburbs of the City (Long Island and Westchester), and heavily Republican upstate. The key to a statewide victory, by either party, is (a) the size of the margin in each region, and (b) the size of the regional turnouts. New York State has a total of 8.8 million registered voters; of these, 57 percent came out to vote. But the turnout rates differed radically over the regions: the suburbs turned out a modest 53 percent of eligible votes, upstate a sizzling 69 percent, while the city came out with a feeble 46 percent. The size of the margins reflected the outpouring of anti-New York City votes upstate. Thus, New York City gave 70 percent of its total vote to Cuomo, only down two percent from his last electoral victory in 1990; Cuomo's percentage in the suburbs, however, dropped sharply from 50 to 43 percent; while his percentage upstate fell like a stone, from a respectable 46 percent four years ago to only 32 percent this year. Combine the low turnout in the City with the anti-Cuomo outpouring upstate, and you have the fateful defeat.

Upstate, the key was the vote of the three large cities, Buffalo, Rochester, and Syracuse, usually so heavily Democratic that they carry their respective counties solidly for the Democrats (Erie, Monroe, and Onondaga respectively). In 1990, each of these counties had gone substantially for Cuomo. This year, however, the worm turned: Erie going for Pataki by 36,000 votes, Monroe by 21,000, and Onondaga by 49,000—The latter a whopping 2:1. The Pataki campaign was also remarkably effective in smashing the Golisano vote: estimated before the election at about 14 percent overall and at more than 33 percent in his home base of Rochester, Golisano wound up with a measly 4 percent of the total, and only 20 percent in Monroe.

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The Rest of the Ticket

There were two other statewide races this year in New York. The Attorney-General's race was supposed to go handily to the very left-wing, very abrasive, Democrat, Jewish lesbian Karen Burstein. A former State Senator and family judge in Brooklyn, Burstein had been around for a long time, whereas her Republican opponent, Dennis Vacco, a former U.S. Attorney from Buffalo, was virtually unknown. The New York City left was set to celebrate the first state-wide victory in the U.S. of an open lesbian. The problem was that, while her supporters were of course familiar with and celebrated Burstein's gay agenda, the rather naive and socially conservative upstate public had no clue to what was going on. This of course often happens with special interest groups: *They* know the real poop, while the majority, blissfully unaware, don't have a clue.

It was important, then, for *someone*, some Republican, to call attention to Karen Burstein's potential electoral disability upstate. But who was going to do it? No one wanted to be the sacrificial lamb, to incur the wrath of the left and the liberal media, no one wanted to be denounced as reactionary and "socially intolerant." Certainly not the "socially tolerant" Pataki. D'Amato wasn't going to stick his neck out on this one. And neither was Vacco, who had been pounding away credibly on crime and the death penalty but hadn't caught fire, willing to do the job himself. Which surrogate would step forward and tell the important but unpalatable truth?

Finally in mid-October, up to the plate stepped the conservative Guy V. Molinari, Borough President of Staten Island, a small conservative Italian and Irish Catholic borough of New York City which had voted last year in favor of secession from the detested city. Molinari, who couldn't care less about the *New York Times* or the *Village Voice*, had the courage to point out the Emperor's lack of clothes. Karen Burstein is an open lesbian, Molinari charged, and as a lesbian she should not be in charge of enforcing the law of New York State, which sometimes include the outlawry of lesbian activities. A storm of liberal abuse heaped upon Molinari's head, while Vacco himself protested that one's sexual activity is no one else's business. But as the issue caught fire, Vacco added that private activity was one thing, but a political lesbian agenda was something quite different, and a legitimate issue to attack. By the end of the campaign, Vacco was able to point out that a Burstein campaign flier proudly proclaimed that she would "help lead the fight for lesbians and gay men in New York and across America." *What* "fight," exactly?

In the end, Vacco won narrowly but substantially, by three percentage points. The outcome was a big surprise and a shock to the left, Karen Burstein holding a kind of therapy group for her lesbian sisters at campaign headquarters, everyone sobbing and denouncing "homophobia," and Burstein reading a poem from Auden that was solemnly quoted in full by the adoring press the next day. Go quote Auden in private, Burstein!

After the election, Molinari summed it up: "By the time the election rolled around, I don't think there was a tiny hamlet in that state that wasn't aware not only was she a lesbian but...hat she had a gay and lesbian agenda....It probably made the difference in the election."

Apart from Senator Moynihan, a centrist Irish Catholic who won his inevitable smashing victory against the hapless, Republican liberal millionaire, Bernadette Castro, the only statewide Republican who lost, shockingly snatching defeat from the jaws of a Republican tide, was Herbert London. London lost the Comptrollership race to the only black on either ticket, the bland Carl McCall from Harlem, who had been appointed to the vacancy by Cuomo 18 months before. McCall was supposed to be the weakest Democrat on the statewide ticket. So how did he manage to beat the conservative London, who had run a very good race for governor on the Conservative ticket

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four years earlier, almost beating out the tomfool Republican candidate, the Wall Street economist Pierre Rinfret?

McCall and London were supposed to be neck-and-neck in the polls; so how did he wind up with a six point margin, the first black ever to be elected to a statewide office in New York?

In the first place, McCall, a former banker, raised a lot more money, and he poured out TV attacks on London's conservative views. As a black, moreover, he was able to bring out more support than the others from black neighborhoods. But, after all, it was a conservative and a white political year, and these factors were not the keys to McCall's surprising victory. The key is that Herb London blew the race, committing a series of wrong-headed and almost ludicrous miscalculations. Let's face it: Herb London goofed.

One problem is that Herb was a visible sorehead. He had tried to run for governor, and his delegates at the Republican state convention were strong-armed by D'Amato so as not only to nominate Pataki, but also to deprive London of the 25 percent he needed to get automatically on the primary ballot without having to go through the difficult process of gathering signatures. London denounced this deed as an outrage, and threatened to run against Pataki on the Conservative ticket, whereupon he was persuaded by the D'Amato forces to take the Comptroller's spot on the ticket. But London couldn't keep his mouth shut, and twice he deeply angered the Republicans by openly attacking Pataki, the head of his own ticket, and suggested that Pataki either lead or get out of the way.

But worse than that: London, an Orthodox Jew, made as the central theme of his campaign: anti-Semitism! denouncing the Crown Heights riots and trying to implicate McCall as a black anti-Semite. This absurd charge was promptly rebutted by the McCall camp, bringing out several prominent Jews to protest this outrage. But more importantly, Herb London never seemed to realize that while Crown Heights and charges of anti-Semitism may go over big in Brooklyn, upstate WASPs and Catholics really don't spend their days worrying about Jews and anti-Semitism. It is simply not their central concern, and until he wises up to this central fact of life, Herb London will never win a statewide election.

Coda

And so justice pretty much triumphed in the New York election. After the election, George Pataki moved swiftly if quietly to punish the Backstabbing Republican Left. It took two weeks for Pataki to return Giuliani's Election Night congratulatory phone call, and it is pretty clear that goodies are not going to flow Rudy's way in the next few years. In addition, Pataki moved effectively behind the scenes to dump the long-time Nestor of the Republican Left in New York State, State Senate majority leader Ralph Marino, whom the Senate Republicans kicked out in behalf of the conservative Joseph Bruno. In a desperate attempt to save his precious power job, Marino offered to sacrifice his widely hated long-time counsel and theoretician, Angelo Mangia, but Marino had no takers. Both Mangia and his boss are out, and Marino is now talking elegaically of immediate retirement. 1994 was the end of a political era in New York State in more ways than one. ■

Why They Hate Jesse

by Justin Raimondo

When Senator Jesse Helms dared state the obvious—that Bill Clinton is not only "not up to the job of Commander-in-Chief, "but also widely hated by our men and women in uniform—the firestorm of protest was way out of proportion to the alleged crime. The story ran for three solid days, and gave rise to a spate of Hate Jesse articles that pilloried the 73-year-old Senator from North Carolina. The media lynch mob was out for blood, and pundits of both the left and the right were unanimous in their as-

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sessment: Jesse is a "loose cannon" whose chairmanship of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will prove a liability to the GOP.

Why do they hate Jesse so? Culturally, of course, he makes the perfect media villain: a Southern white man who does not genuflect at the altar of Martin Luther King, and who once (correctly) characterized Roberta Achtenberg, the openly homosexual HUD enforcer, as a "mean lesbian." Just on the basis of his cultural views, he has become a valuable fund-raising tool for the liberal-left direct mail mavens, who will no doubt raise much money scaring their followers with visions of Jesse standing over the prostrate body of the National Endowment for the Arts.

Why didn't conservative commentators, intellectuals, and any of the other vaguely rightwing talking heads rush to Jesse's defense?

Liberals just naturally loathe Senator Helms, and the feeling is mutual. But what about his alleged friends on the right? Why didn't conservative commentators, intellectuals, and any of the other vaguely rightwing talking heads rush to Jesse's defense? Typical was a representative of the Heritage Foundation, who appeared along with two liberals on Larry King (three, including Larry) in a panel discussion devoted to the Senator's sins. This alleged spokesman for the Right condemned the remark about Clinton as an act of *lese majeste*, and agreed that Jesse did indeed need to be reined in and generally "moderated" if he is to assume the chairmanship of the prestigious foreign relations committee.

Both the right and left wings of the Establishment are quaking in their boots at the prospect of having to deal with Chairman Helms. The reason is because Jesse has conducted a one-man crusade against the internationalist foreign policy of the U.S. Department of State. He has defended our sovereignty against the machinations of UN bureaucrats and their American collaborators; he has defended American taxpayers against the extortion racket called "foreign aid"; he has defended the lives and honor of American soldiers by denouncing the U.S. occupation of Haiti as "disgraceful." A recent *New York Times* article quotes an old friend, Admiral Nance, as saying the Helms committee will "pepper the Clinton Administration with questions like: What is the point of foreign aid? Why should the United States support the United Nations? Why should Americans go on peacekeeping missions? What are we doing in Haiti?" [*New York Times*, 12/7/94.]

These are the same questions the American people are asking. Now that the Cold War is over, what exactly is the point of a foreign policy that involves stationing troops in 75 countries, about 40 percent of all the nations in the world?

The internationalists of both parties, and their talking-head marionettes in the media, most emphatically do not want this question asked in public—especially by the Chairman of a powerful Senate committee, who has the power to call the Administration on the carpet and create a very public forum for his views.

The motive behind the media mugging of Jesse Helms was reflected in the headline over the *Times* story: "Helms: A Man Who Has His Own Foreign Policy." While always a strong anti-Communist, Helms fought single-handedly against the internationalist sell-out policies that were part of the Cold War national security state, notably the foreign aid gravy-train and the United Nations scheme to swindle us our of our sovereignty. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, Helms has become the leading noninterventionist in Congress, a lone voice in the Sen-

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ate raised against the madness of a policy that casts the U.S. in the role of security guard and wetnurse to the world.

The foreign policy of Jesse Helms is the policy of the Founders, who warned Americans against foreign entanglements: it is the foreign policy of the Old Right, a Right consisting of such giants as John T. Flynn, Garet Garrett, and *Chicago Tribune* media mogul Colonel Robert Rutherford McCormick, who mourned the decline of the Republic and warned of the rise of Empire. In the official conservative movement of today, consisting of such pygmies as Buckley, Podhoretz, and the Kristols (Irving *and* William), Jesse Helms is an outcast, an embarrassment—and an enemy, albeit one to be treated with kid gloves.

Beyond the Beltway, however, out in the *real* conservative movement, it is quite a different story: Jesse is admired and even loved for the very reasons he has been vilified by the liberal-neocon elite: his intransigence, his truculence, his candor. They love him because he intransigently opposes the striped-pants careerists who are selling America down the river; they love him for his truculent rejection of Haitian President Aristide as mentally unstable and a Commie to boot; and most of all they love him for his candor in daring to say out loud what is in their hearts.

Jesse Helms is not an embarrassment to be nervously explained away, but a true hero. For years, he has stood like a rock against the schemes and machinations of the One-Worlders, the foreign lobbyists, and the "internationally-minded" set that dominates the Eastern fringe of the country. For that he deserves not a rebuke but a medal. ■

Rising Expectations

by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

The Republican elites will betray the electoral revolution of 1994. They have too much at stake in the current system to change it, and little to lose—they think—by making only cosmetic and symbolic changes in government's size. On the ideological spectrum, Robert Dole and Newt Gingrich not only stand to the left of their party's dominant wing, but also to the left of the average American voter.

The public's political mandate has been betrayed before. In 1980, almost everyone anticipated, for starters, a repeal of the Great Society and the reestablishment of a gold standard. And welfare bums were combing the want ads. But from his first budget, it was clear that Ronald Reagan did not intend to do what he had been elected to do. He didn't admit this, of course. Instead, he deflected attention from his own expansion of government onto Congress and supposed foreign threats.

Thus for years, the Republican leadership and its media allies at the *Wall Street Journal* yapped that all domestic evil stemmed from the legislature. This was a tall tale. It ignored the sins of Republican presidents, and papered-over the contribution of Congress in *cutting* all but one of Reagan's budget requests. The truth is that for twelve years, Republicans controlled and expanded every executive-branch agency, despite voter demands that they cut across the board.

Well, now the Republicans *are* the Congress, and this fact has created an explosion in expectations. The American people want radical changes, as do some Republican backbenchers. The result will be more direct lobbying for liberty than ever before.

As long as the Democrats were running Congress, the masses of limited-government idealists assumed that lobbying was largely futile. Congress heard mostly from those who wanted a subsidy. But now Congress will hear from the majority that is sick of the District of Pork. These idealists will demand the ideal, which is "government" that barely escapes being government at all.

After all, nearly every American has some gripe about a federal tax, a federal mandate, a federal agency, a federal program, or a federal police agent. That's why Americans will demand immediate changes, not accept

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no for an answer, and quickly become impatient with the Republican leadership, unless it shapes up.

The excuse-making will work no longer. There is no foreign threat, and no Congress to blame. Why, Americans wonder, should three million federal employees loot the taxpayers while bullying, badgering, and beating their benefactors?

Why, Americans wonder, should three million federal employees loot the taxpayers while bullying their benefactors?

The Republican Party can meet public expectations now or it can be strung up later. But to meet the people's desire for an end to the welfare-warfare-regulatory state, it must step out in front of those expectations with its own far-reaching proposals.

If the Republican Party chooses this path, it won't be because of what the leadership wants. It will be evidence of pressure from the newest legislators, and their constituents, who will not be satisfied with inside-baseball changes in the House rules.

Even the vaunted Republican "Contract With America"—actually a Press Conference With America called when Republican polls showed victory ahead—uses gimmickry to divert the visionaries elected to the House from the West, Midwest, and South.

The Contract consists of ten major pieces of legislation. Let's say every one passes. Families will get a slightly larger child deduction. Some of the tax penalties on marriage will be lifted. And we'll get lower capital-gains taxes. That's fine, but these tax cuts total only a minuscule 1.6% of federal spending.

When it comes to regulation, the Contract asks Clinton's agencies to run cost-benefit analyses of their own activities. But this is eyewash. What bureaucrat will say his job isn't a net social benefit? Meanwhile, regulations continue to poison business. Instead of setting up a thousand committees, why not repeal just one of George Bush's massive regulatory acts?

The Contract's welfare reform proposal will restrict direct grants to single mothers after the first child, but it will set up expensive and government-run "group homes" for these women, and expand make-work job programs for all recipients. If the Republicans get their way, we will pay *more* for welfare. But welfare shouldn't be reformed; it should be ended.

The Contract rejects the "social services" portion of Clinton's crime bill, but it approves of the parts that nationalize crime, ban scary-looking guns, and subsidize and control states, which is four-fifths of the $30 billion boondoggle.

Yet crime is constitutionally a state and local problem. It is best solved by reinforcing the right of armed citizens to defend themselves, and by untying the hands of local courts and police. Newt Gingrich has often stated his desire to centralize all crime control in the hands of the federal government, a profoundly anti-conservative proposal.

On Social Security, the Contract takes us in the wrong direction, by repealing "tax hikes" which are actually benefit cuts in this welfare program. In the last weeks of the campaign, the Republican even blasted Budget Director Alice Rivlin for wanting to cut Social Security's perpetual raises.

The Contract also calls for more military spending, as if we were still in the Cold War. On military-related matters, the U.S. currently spends more than every other nation in the world combined. This is not defense. It is industrial welfare, a Republican favorite since 1861.

The Contract looks even worse when you consider what it doesn't do. No federal agency is to be abolished or even trimmed. There would

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be no cuts in income taxes or inheritance taxes. Not a single regulation or business mandate would be repealed. States would continue to be run like federal subdivisions.

The foreign aid budget would be untouched. Immigration laws would be unchanged. Anti-discrimination law would still terrorize American business. Federally mandated quotas and affirmative action would still be in force. Even the rotten Postal Service would survive uncut.

If it were up to me, I'd go back to 1781. But, reining in my own rising expectations, here's my moderate Contract:

1. The Postal Freedom Act. The private letter statutes are repealed. Anyone who wants to carry the mail can do so. The U.S. Postal Service has to compete, and is forever barred from receiving subsidies from the taxpayers.
2. The Highway Denationalization Act. The Interstate Highway System is turned over to the States, to become their property and their responsibility, as the Constitution mandates. The Federal Highway Administration is abolished.
3. The Retirement Security Act. Present payers of Social Security taxes may opt out of the system, exchanging tomorrow's benefits for today's tax cuts. All retirement savings are tax free.
4. The No-Longer-Tyrants-for-Life Act. Supreme Court and other federal judges are limited to terms of 10 years, bringing Jeffersonian "rotation in office" to the most oppressive part of the central state.
5. The Honest Bonds Act. All government bonds now have a risk premium, introducing some market discipline into federal finance, because the Federal Reserve can no longer monetize debt.
6. The Business Rights Act. All anti-discrimination laws are repealed, along with the EEOC. Employers may hire, fire, promote, and demote as they see fit.
7. The Medical Freedom Act. Sick people, and those who wish to avoid becoming sick, may use any medication they wish to use, without interference from the FDA.
8. The Local Police Act. The BATF and all other federal police agencies are disarmed and then abolished as potentially totalitarian threats to the liberties of the American people.
9. The America First Act. The government is forbidden from stationing troops or military equipment in any foreign country. Foreign aid is abolished, including all payments to the UN, World Bank, and IMF.
10. The Bill of Rights Act. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, or prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States; private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation; the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

And then, on day two... ■

Republican Hypocrisy?

by L.H.R., Jr.

Americans voted for a revolution against government on November 8, 1994. Were they snookered once again? The House leadership, acting on very bad advice, already shows signs of betraying its middle-class base.

If an authentic revolution starts with a bang, the Republican welfare-reform proposal is the squirt of water pistol. It consolidates ten welfare programs into one, renames a few others, and changes the level of administration. Please. That's the kind of "management" Democrats are famous for.

Why only ten programs? Robert Rector of the Heritage Foundation has ferreted out 79 means-tested giveaways. They should not be "consolidated," whatever that means, but scrapped.

Attaching new conditions and limiting spending increases, as the proposal suggests, might save some money. But rather than return that savings to the taxpayer, the Republican proposal funnels it to the states, earmarked for "orphanages," "group homes" for unwed mothers, and the promotion of adoption. Let's hope the governors tell the Congress to mind its own business.

All this sounds like the Kennedy School of Government. Even if it passes, it means nothing. It reinvents

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government, not dismantles it. The prophet of this reform is Bill Clinton, not Bob Taft.

The Republican proposal does nothing to reverse the relentless march of welfarism. Means-tested programs will total $350 billion this year, the highest level in history. If the welfare state were slashed to its 1980 levels, *in real terms*, it would require cuts of 71 cents on the welfare dollar. To take us back to Lyndon Johnson's time would require welfare cuts of 98 cents on the dollar.

The Republican leadership, and its neocon advice givers, aren't even considering this. They do not propose to cut programs. As Republicans have done for forty years, they are preparing to consolidate the other party's socialist advances.

There is only standard by which Republicans should be judged: does the budget go down or up? If the budget goes up, the Republicans have failed. If it goes down, in a big way, fine for now. Any Republican who votes for a budget higher than last year's deserves to be tossed out of office.

A balanced budget is great, but it will follow from cutting the government down to size. The leadership should focus on cutting spending and taxes, matching them dollar for dollar in a massive downward spiraling of Leviathan.

Here's a moderate proposal that barely keeps pace with public expectations: Republicans should announce their refusal to pass any budget that doesn't cut $300 billion immediately. That's not much; it would only take us back to the Bush presidency in terms of overall spending.

The media, the Clinton administration, and every special interest group from coast to coast would be insane with rage. That's how we'd know we're on the right track.

And we would begin to change the nature of the debate about the size of government. For the first time, the Democrats would be forced to defend each of these 79 programs. Most of them survive through lack of public exposure. If the programs were brought out into the open, the voters would laugh them into oblivion. Polls already show that two-thirds of the public doesn't think government should provide welfare at all. If Republicans cut $300 billion, they would still be to the left of public opinion.

Some people deride even this moderate plan. "Don't take a kamikaze approach," William Kristol advised Republicans at an "Empower America" conference. That would "wipe out everything at once that took 60 years to build up." It's pitiful to see the so-called right defending the New Deal, the Great Society, and every other statist advance since 1934.

Mr. Kristol further told the *New York Times* that Republicans should "shed the minority mind-set" of "let's do everything we can all at once." Instead they should lay the ground work for a Republican return to the White House.

This is excuse-making. For twelve years, the Republicans claimed they couldn't cut government because they didn't control Congress. Now we hear they can't cut government because they don't control the White House.

With a Republican president, will Mr. Kristol then say, Republicans need to control the judiciary too? When, oh when, will Republicans have to do what they say they are going to do? Or has power become an end in itself?

The problem with Democrats is their philosophy of government. The problem with Republicans is hypocrisy. Hypocrisy is a more serious sin, and carries with it a more serious punishment. ■

Unmandating the States

by L.H.R., Jr.

Curbing mandates is all the rage as Republicans prepare a legislative agenda for this month. The feds have kicked the states and localities around too long, and the GOP promises a quick legislative response to their complaints.

Unfunded mandates cost from $200 to $400 billion, depending how "mandate" is defined, and legislation to curb them has been floating around the Capitol for more than a year. Even Clinton has suggested a willingness

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to go along.

It's a fine issue to test the new Republican leadership, for it goes to the heart of the federal form of government, in which states and localities are not supposed to be colonies of a central empire. But will Republicans repeal the mandates, tailor them back a bit, or make only cosmetic changes?

Ideally, Congress would say to the states and localities: if you can't afford to enforce present or future federal mandates, then forget them. But we are likely to get something very different, so taxpayers need to keep a close watch.

The feds have been forcing governors, state legislatures, mayors, and town councils to spend money they don't have since the 1970s. The states and localities then have to turn to their own taxpayers, who are rightly stingy since 40% of the national wealth is already consumed by public-sector taxing and spending.

Some of the laws that bear on the mandate issue include the Brady Bill, the Clean Water Act, and the Americans With Disabilities Act. They have this in common: they coerce states into enforcing laws they didn't support, they fulfill liberal wishes, and they were agitated for and passed by Democrats.

What better targets for Republican reprisal against Democrat big governmentism? While they're at it, the GOP can go after other liberal programs like the Clean Air Act, the Safe Drinking Water Act, Asbestos Abatement regulations, and the Lead-Based Paint Abatement program.

When some politicians complain about mandates, they stress the "unfunded" part, in hopes of getting more federal money. Last session, for example, Dirk Kempthorne, Republican Senator from Idaho, proposed that the federal government pay the costs of state and local compliance—a proposal endorsed by a majority of Senators.

Partisans of states rights have good reason to doubt the sincerity of Congress.

He meant well, but that's a frightening prospect. Funds at the state and local level would shift to another category of spending, and the federal budget would zoom. Net government spending and taxing would increase, which is the opposite of what we need. We shouldn't fund the mandates, just lessen or eliminate them.

For his part, Newt Gingrich promises to provide states and counties with more "spending flexibility," which means lightening up on the rules governing specifically how—but not whether—these laws are to be enforced. That change qualifies as cosmetic.

Partisans of states rights have good reason to doubt the sincerity of Congress. When grass-roots groups in California organized to end the "unfunded mandate" of welfare to illegal immigrants, all of Official Washington balked.

More recently, the Imperial Congress passed a mercantilist trade agreement that takes no account of America's unique federal system, in which states are supposed to be more than lines on a map. The foreign bureaucrats at the World Trade Organization care no more for the autonomy of Mississippi or Montana than they do for free trade itself.

If the Congress can't stand up to the demands of the subsidized corporate establishment, it is hardly likely to thwart the will of regulators, lawyers, social therapists, and gun grabbers. But the partisans of the centralized nation state had better wise up.

Laws like the Brady Bill and the Americans With Disabilities Act were prime catalysts for the electoral revolution of 1994. The first severely limits the right of self protection, and the second gives drunks and dopers the right to a lifetime job plus benefits.

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As any gas station attendant will tell you, the Clean Air Act has meant higher gas prices and zooming repair bills. And when the local mayor raises property taxes, he's the first to point to the Clean Water Act or the lead-abatement scam as the culprit. Voters know this, and spoke against it last month.

In the choice between real and cosmetic change, more is at stake than political strategy. The rights of individuals and communities to be free of federal control is woven into the fabric of our history, and written on constitutional parchment.

Twenty-nine years passed between the "tariff of abomination" in 1832, and the "tariff of aggression" in 1861. But those "unfunded mandates" led to the bloodiest war in the nation's history. January 1995 is the time to act, before statehouses start to fly the Confederate flag for more than old-time's sake. ■

P.C. Watch

by L.H.R., Jr.

Racial Express

A black man was selected for pilot training by the U.S. Navy through affirmative action, but his "attitude" on the ground and ability in the air meant he had to leave, points out columnist Roy Wayne. He was then hired by Flying Tiger airlines's affirmative-action program, but let go because of his persistent hostility and incompetence. After Federal Express bought Flying Tiger, however, the pilot was hired by Fedex, because of the company's particularly aggressive affirmative-action guidelines. But his failings as a pilot combined with his extreme ill-will led to many reprimands, and eventually the company set a termination hearing for April 8, 1994.

On April 7, he was scheduled to fly a DC-10 as co-pilot out of Memphis. The pilot was a white man and the first officer a white woman. The black man planned to murder them both, he has since admitted, and then fly the fully fueled plane into Federal Express's national headquarters, with its thousands of employees, also hoping to ignite the hundreds of planes being refueled in the area at the time.

But the schedule was changed, and a new crew of three white men was assigned. The black man then asked to "deadhead," that is, to fly along for free. The black pilot came on board carrying a guitar case, and sat in one of the few seats behind the cockpit. As the plane passed through 18,000 feet, he opened the case and removed two sledge hammers, a spear gun, and a combat knife. He then entered the cockpit and smashed each man in the head with a sledge hammer, and aimed his spear gun at the captain, planning to kill all three and then carry out the rest of his plan.

One crew member was knocked out, and the remaining two were partially paralyzed, yet the pilot managed to throw the giant plane into a roll, pinning the black man against the ceiling. As the two men struggled with the large, well-built criminal, the co-pilot asked for an emergency return to Memphis, and put the plan on autopilot. It took 25 minutes for the two men to disarm the would-be mass murderer, who had a black belt in karate, and was willing to die so long as he took white people with him.

The pilot had his ear torn off, and when the plane landed, the black man tried to kill a paramedic and then escape via the emergency chute, but he was finally handcuffed.

Today, one of the white men is completely disabled. Another's head is oddly shaped, and he's unable to think clearly, and the reattachment of the pilot's ear was not entirely successful. These men are heroes, but you've never heard of them, and the massacre they prevented. If the culprit had been a white man, this would have been one of the most important stories of the year. Since he wasn't, the free press did its usual job of cover-up.

Papal Apologies?

Pope John Paul II has urged the Catholic Church to apologize, to "express profound regret for the weakness of so many of her sons and daughters who sullied her face."

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The *New York Times* (11/15/94) says he means the Inquisition (since we haven't heard enough about that) and Pius XII. Yet Pius XII was everything a Pope should be, so that at least must be wrong.

But the more I think about it, the more I think the idea may have some merit. Here are just some of the things the Church could express profound regret for:

1. Felt banners.
2. Vatican II.
3. Communion in the hand.
4. Removing the altar rails.
5. Turning the altar around.
6. Turning the altar into a table.
7. Hiding the Tabernacle.
8. The Novus Ordo.
9. The vernacular.
10. John XXIII.
11. Liberal bishops.
12. Liberal priests.
13. Liberal cardinals.
14. Sex education.
15. Heretical Sunday school.
16. Gay priests.
17. Pedophile priests.
18. Hiding gay and pedophile priests.
19. Inhuman church architecture.
20. Paul VI.
21. Open Confession.
22. Airline-commercial hymns.
23. Altar girls.
24. Guitars.
25. Feminist nuns.
26. Lesbian nuns.
27. Witch-nuns.
28. Ecumenicism.
29. The persecution of Archbishop Lebfevre.
30. ICEL
31. The last 36 years.

Holly Goheavily

Tiffany's has been ordered by New York State's Division of Human Rights (sic) to pay $365,000 to Paula Smith, a gemologist. A manager had told Smith, "in a stereotypical Yiddish voice," that she was "too 47th Street for Tiffany's." (*New York Post*, 11/29/94)

The bad guy, need I mention it, is a Wasp male.

Princess?

"Dirty Di is giving Flashing Freddy for Christmas," according to the *London Sun*. When she saw the 12-inch, trench-coated doll at a "novelty shop," she "burst out in giggles" and immediately bought it, for when a bulb is pressed, the coat opens, revealing the doll's genitals. She also bought chocolate candy shaped like male and female genitals for Christmas gifts. (*New York Post*, 1/28/94)

The P.C. Detective

While at the Louisville, Kentucky, airport recently, I bought my first and last paperback by Lawrence Block. The book—by one of the alleged stars of detective fiction—featured an alcoholic private eye from Manhattan who, between A.A. meetings, sleeps with an ex-prostitute, and procures a gun for his ex-girlfriend so she can commit suicide. When his black assistant takes up with a "pre-operative transsexual," it's presented as charming and perfectly understandable. The bad guy, need I mention it, is a Wasp male.

Flagging

A fraternity chapter must perform 150 hours of "community service" because a member of Delta Kappa Psi at Montclair State University in New Jersey displayed a Confederate flag for 15 minutes. After a seven hour trial by the university's "judiciary court," the chapter was found guilty of "conduct unbecoming a fraternity." (*Washington Times*, 11/28/94)

Banned

Major newspapers now ban the following words in real estate ads: "ocean view"

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(offends the blind), "walking distance" (offends the wheelchaired), "quiet neighborhood" (discrimination against children), "master bedroom" (sexist), and "executive" (racist).

The University of Alabama at Birmingham was staging a new play, "Look Away, Dixie," about a group of white Southerners, when it announced it would use "color-blind casting," i.e. give half the roles to blacks. Because this would have introduced unintended racial elements into the work, the playwright protested, and then offered to make three of the characters black, "a quota of almost 19%." No, said UAB, and cancelled the play.

A man has sued the Bible, in the person of Oxford University Press, for $45 million, because the Good Book "is hearsay and oppresses blacks and homosexuals."

A student who flinches when a homosexual touches him is guilty of a hate crime at George Mason University, according to a university pamphlet. Also banned: thinking that a homosexual might make a pass at you; keeping your distance from a known homosexual; and staring at two homosexuals expressing public affection. (John Leo, *Washington Times*, 12/3/94)

Texas Patriots

William Murchison, Joseph Sullivan, and the other Texas patriots of the Landrum Society have founded a magnificent new magazine, and the *Texas Republic* is only $19.95 a year. Whether you're a Texan, a foreign admirer of that once and future republic, or just a lover of good conservative writing (i.e., Bill Murchison), send your check to the *Texas Republic*, 2344 Irving Blvd., Dallas, Tex. 75207.

The Best Catholic Magazine

Old-fashioned Catholics should read Roger McCaffrey's *Latin Mass* magazine. It covers the fight for the traditional liturgy, and much else besides, with clarity and courage. A recent cover story handicapped the candidates for the next papal election, and rated them as good, bad, or indifferent for traditionalists. It's $25.95 per year, to *Latin Mass*, 1331 Red Cedar Cir., Ft. Collins, Col. 80524.

Speechism

When asked about a theft at her school, New York City junior high principal Vergie Muhammad told a reporter: "There ain't no missin' books and no books has been lost. I always be above board, brother" and "I ain't heard nothin' 'bout no 'goin' out no back door." (*New York Post*, 11/25/94) ■

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